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Background information in identifying educational programs needed for those living in poverty in the Appalachian region is provided. The region includes 10 states and 15.3 million people, is rural, and possesses poor resources. Unemployment is high, while income and educational attainment are low. Schools are poorly equipped, classes are large, and teacher quality is poor. Educational expenditures have lagged by 50 percent of the average United States figure, because of low incomes and inadequate efforts.

Outmigration has been heavy, and the decreased school enrollment has led to a reluctance to replace, equip or maintain already inadequate school facilities. Outmigration should be encouraged, to reach greater equilibrium between population and resources. It remains a problem, however, to train and educate the migrants to succeed and compete in outside communities. A major highway program is needed to facilitate school consolidations and to increase and extend the people's perception of the outer world. Adult education programs are needed, both to increase income potential and to raise the educational aspirations of children. The people are eager for self-improvement and education. The solution lies not so much in problems of cultural integration but in economic development which comes with education.

Unsuccessful efforts have been made at the county and state levels to improve resources and to attempt coordination. In recent years, there has been marked growth of interest in improving conditions. Special educational and training programs include the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, Eastern Kentucky Regional Planning Commission, Eastern Kentucky Emergency Program, Appalachian Volunteers, Adult Education, West Virginia Programs, and Federal education programs.

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EDUCATION IN APPALACHIA

by Jack Ciaccio

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
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EDUCATION IN APPALACHIA

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EDUCATION IN APPALACHIA

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to provide background information useful for identifying the kinds of educational programs needed for those living in poverty in the Appalachian Region. Section I gives a brief general profile of the area. Section II describes the current state of education. Section III spells out educational problems and assets. Section IV reviews efforts to improve education in the area.

This paper is concerned with the 10-State Appalachian Region as defined for the President's Appalachian Regional Commission (PARC). (See Figure 1 in Appendix A.) Some of the material, however, covers only the "Southern Appalachian Region," as defined in The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey (hereafter referred to as the Ford Survey).

I. PROFILE OF THE AREA

The Appalachian region as defined for the President's Appalachian Regional Commission (PARC) consists of 340 counties in 10 States. 1/ In 1960 this area of 165,000 square miles had a population of 15.3 million. The Appalachian portion of Pennsylvania contained 39 percent of the total population of Appalachia. The Appalachian portion of three other States--Alabama, Tennessee, and West Virginia--contained another 53 percent. Thus, 92 percent of the Appalachian population resided in just 4 States in 1960. (See Table 1.)

Table 2 highlights some of the general characteristics of Appalachia as compared with the balance of the United States.

1. Much of Appalachia is rural. Less than half of the area was classified as urban in 1960. (See line a.)

2. Appalachia is poor. (See lines b-i.) However, the income differences between Appalachia and the United States are much less when the data are adjusted for type of residence. (See line d.) Much of Appalachia's income lag is "explained" by lack of urbanization.

3. Unemployment rates are high in Appalachia. (See line j.) "Hidden" unemployment--low labor force participation rates--is also high. (See line k.) This partially explains the low incomes in Appalachia.

1/ In order to increase the applicability of published statistics, 12 additional counties are included in the region covered by the statistics used in the 1964 PARC report, Appalachia, and in this section. Figure 1 in Appendix A shows the region as defined by the Appalachian Governors; Figure 2, the region as defined for statistical purposes.

4. Net migration from Appalachia is heavy. (See Table 3.) Two million more people moved out of the area during the fifties than moved in. This migration was largely due to the low incomes and high unemployment rates. As a result of this heavy net migration, population in Appalachia remained virtually stationary between 1950 and 1960. During this same period, population in the balance of the United States increased 20 percent.

5. Educational attainment is low in Appalachia. (See line l.) At the same time, Appalachia's per capita expenditure on education lags considerably behind that in the balance of the United States. (See line m.) These educational lags reflect the low tax base. (See lines b-d and f.)

Changes in the composition of Appalachia's population and labor force during the fifties generally followed the pattern in the balance of the United States. (See lines n-p, Table 2, and Figure 7.) Both the United States and Appalachia experienced heavy percentage decreases in the farm population and in agricultural employment, increases in the proportion of population residing in urban areas, and increases in the "dependent" population (persons under 18, and 65 years of age and over).

There were some significant differences, however. In Appalachia, the percent increase in population in rural nonfarm areas was three times as great as the increase in the urban population; in the balance of the United States, the percent increase in rural nonfarm areas was the same as that in urban areas. Mining employment decreased by nearly 60 percent in Appalachia during this period; in the balance of the United States, there was virtually no change.

Another difference to be noted is changes in unemployment rates. In 1950, unemployment rates in Appalachia and the balance of the United States were virtually the same--5.1 and 4.8 percent respectively. By 1960, Appalachia's unemployment rate had risen to 7.1 percent; the rate in the balance of the United States was about the same as the 1950 rate.

Differences Within Appalachia

Geographically, Appalachia probably can be best described in terms of three parallel strips of land running in a northeast--southwest direction. Easternmost is the Blue Ridge Mountain Area, running from central southern Pennsylvania south through the Great Smoky and Unakas ranges in the Carolinas, Tennessee, and Georgia.

In the middle is the Great Valley, consisting of the Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania, the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia, and the Valley of East Tennessee (TVA area). This is the area of towns and cities and prosperous farms.

In the west is the Appalachian Plateau--called the Alleghany in Pennsylvania, the Kanawha in eastern Ohio and West Virginia, and the Cumberland in eastern Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, and northern Alabama.

> "Rivers cut deeply into this plateau. The hillsides are so steep that the region looks much like a mountain area. A few of the valleys and some flat areas make good farms. Rich beds of coal and petroleum lie beneath some of these green hills. Important industrial areas lie within the plateau.
>
> "In some parts of Kentucky and West Virginia, the Appalachian Plateau is covered with thin, sandy soil. Sharp, steep hillsides are badly eroded. Only a few farmers attempt to make a living on this poor land. These regions have few good roads, and the hills have almost shut the people off from the rest of the country." 2/

2/ World Book, Volume 19, 1964. p. 49.

The poorest areas in Appalachia are concentrated in the southern part of the region. In all of the 9 nonmetropolitan State Economic Areas (SEA's) in the Appalachian portions of Maryland, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, median family income exceeded $4,000 in 1959. In contrast, in 16 of the 22 nonmetropolitan SEA's in the Appalachian portions of the remaining 7 States, median family income was below $4,000. (See Table 4 and Figure 8.)

These latter 7 States were the ones covered by the Ford Survey. The Ford Survey referred to the Appalachian portion of these 7 States as the "Southern Appalachian Region" (SAR). The SAR generally covers less land area than the Appalachian portion of these States under the PARC definition. (See Figure 3.) The SAR cover 80,000 square miles, and had a population of 5.7 million in 1960. The PARC region covers 165,000 square miles, and had a 1960 population of 15.3 million.

Figure 8 shows 3 fairly distinct areas in the Appalachian region in terms of median family income. The greatest concentration of poverty is found in the western part of southern Appalachia--in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. (Eastern Kentucky is the poorest part of this most poverty-stricken portion of Appalachia--as well as the poorest part of all of Appalachia.) The least concentration of poverty is found in northern Appalachia. In between is the eastern part of southern Appalachia. The differences in these 3 areas can also be seen in Figure 9, which shows the counties designated by the Shriver Task Force as "Poverty" and "Highest Poverty" counties.

II. THE CURRENT STATE OF EDUCATION

Quantity

Adult educational attainment

In Appalachia 12 percent of the adult population (25 years old and over) has completed less than 5 years of school, compared to 8 percent in the United States. (Only in the 3 northern Appalachian States did less than 8 percent complete less than 5 years of school.)

Only 32 percent of Appalachian adults completed high school, compared to 42 percent for the United States.

In Appalachia 5.2 percent of adults completed 4 years of college or more, compared to 7.9 percent in the United States.

The close correlation between educational levels and poverty in Appalachia is shown in Table 5. Generally those areas with the highest proportion of adults completing less than 5 years of school, or completing less than 4 years of high school, are the areas with the highest proportion of low income families. The relationship between college education and poverty, however, is less consistent.

These data point up the need for adult education. Educational levels of adults in Appalachia need to be upgraded for two reasons. First, because of the higher levels of income associated with higher levels of educational attainment. Second, because the educational attainment of children is related to the educational attainment of their parents. (See Table 6.) 3/

3/ In the Ford Survey, Orin Graff says, "The Southern Appalachian Attitude Survey revealed that the people of the region were confused about the purposes of education and the educational needs of their own communities. A large majority of them are satisfied with their educational program: they think it is a good one. This satisfaction, with an obviously inferior educational program, is in large part reflective of an educational level lower than the national average." (p. 189.)

Holding power of the schools

Data on school retention (or dropout) rates are not available for the Appalachian region. Data on the Appalachian States show that all of the Appalachian States except Pennsylvania and Ohio, and perhaps Maryland, are substantially above the national norm for high school dropout ratios. (See Table 7.)

Data on proportions of the population enrolled in school show that 8 of the 10 Appalachian States are among the 10 States in the United States with the smallest percents of the 16-17 year old population enrolled in school. (Pennsylvania and Ohio are the 2 Appalachian States which are not in the lowest 10.) (See Figure 10.)

In the United States in 1960, 87.4 percent of 14 to 17 year olds were enrolled in school. Of 359 Appalachian counties for which data were available, 132 (37 percent) had less than 80 percent of its 14 to 17 year old population enrolled in school in 1960. For southern Appalachia, 127 (45 percent) of the 281 counties had less than 80 percent of its 14 to 17 year olds in school. In Kentucky, 35 out of 47 counties were in this category. (See Table 8.)

These differences cannot be explained by the rural nature of Appalachia. In the United States, the percents of 16 and 17 year olds enrolled in schools in 1960 in urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm areas were 82.0, 77.8, and 81.8, respectively.

Table 9 also shows the high proportions of out-of-school youth in nonmetropolitan southern Appalachia. In addition, it reflects the lack of kindergarten classes, particularly, in southern Appalachia.

Results of Army preinduction examinations reflect the low holding power of southern Appalachian schools--as well as the lagging quality. In all of the 7 southern Appalachian States, with the exception of West Virginia, the percent of examinees rejected because of failing the mental test were considerably above the national average. (See Table 18.)

Quality

Statistical measures of educational quality are quite imperfect. At best they are only indirect measures. However, a sufficient number taken together provide some evidence of the kind of education being offered in an area.

Educational expenditures

The PARC Report states that general education expenditures on public local schools per capita in Appalachia in 1957 were 77 percent of those in the balance of the United States that year. 4/

The Ford Survey states that total public educational expenditures per pupil in the SAR in 1957-58 were only 50 percent of those in the United States. Current expenditures per pupil were 60 percent, and capital expenditures per pupil were 16 percent of the United States figure. 5/

4/This includes both current and capital outlay.
5/Ford Survey, page 190.

Total educational expenditures per pupil in the SAR in 1957-58 were 50 percent of the United States figure, virtually the same as the percentage in 1939-40. Nevertheless, it is probably safe to conclude that there has been some improvement relative to the United States. Current expenditures per pupil in the SAR rose from a little over 50 percent of the United States figure in 1939-40 to nearly 60 percent of the United States figure in 1957-58. While capital outlay per pupil in the SAR declined from 43 percent of the United States figure in 1939-40 to 16 percent in 1957-58, it must be kept in mind that needs for expansion of school plant were far greater in the United States as a whole than in the SAR during the period 1940-58. (Population in the SAR increased only from 5.4 million to 5.7 million between 1940 and 1960. During this period, the United States population increased from 132 million to 179 million.)

While no one-to-one relationship exists between expenditures on education per pupil and educational quality, there is much evidence that educational quality is heavily dependent on money. In Resources and People in East Kentucky (hereafter referred to as the Bowman Study), data are presented on the relationship between achievement test scores for pupils who completed high school and expenditures per child in ADA in their respective districts. East Kentucky is clearly low in both. (See Table 10.) The correlation is even more striking when it is recalled (from earlier data presented in the Bowman Study) that the East Kentucky students were a select group, due to the low school retention rates in that part of the State.

Teachers

Little data on teachers and other instructional staff have been compiled for Appalachia. Data compiled by the Office of Education indicate that ratios of pupils to instructional staff are substantially higher in Appalachia than in the rest of the United States. (See Table 11.) For example, 25 percent of public school plants in Appalachia had 30 pupils or more per instructional staff member in 1962; in the United States the figure was 25 percent.

Additional measures relevant to teaching quality are presented in the Ford Survey. (See Table 12.) These data show that public school teachers in the SAR lag considerably behind teachers in the United States with regard to formal training and salaries. At the same time, they are considerably more experienced.

In general, these data indicate that teachers in Appalachia are less qualified than their counterparts in the United States, and have to spread their talents among a much larger number of pupils.

Physical facilities

Office of Education data on pupil-room ratios confirm the reports of many observers that overcrowding in schools is greater in Appalachia than in the United States generally. For example, 25 percent of the school plants in Appalachia, compared to 19 percent in the United States, had ratios of 30 or more pupils per room in 1962. (See Table 13.)

Data indicating the condition of school buildings in Appalachia have not been compiled. This is unfortunate, since many on-the-spot observers have testified that the run-down condition of many of the school buildings, and the lack of modern equipment, is as serious a problem as the overcrowding.

Some data on school size are presented in the Ford Survey. These data fail to confirm the commonly held notion that Appalachian schools are smaller than schools in the United States generally. For example, in 1958, 27 percent of the public elementary schools in the SAR were one-teacher schools. In the United States during the same year, the corresponding figure was 25 percent. 6/ While Appalachia may or may not be worse off than the remainder of the United States with regard to school size, it is obvious that many of its schools are too small. (See Figure 11.)

Retardation

Satisfactory data on school retardation--pupils behind in grade level attainment--in Appalachia do not exist. The Ford Survey indicates that 31 percent of rural and 62 percent of metropolitan fourth grade pupils in the SAR were retarded in 1958. (See Table 14.) However, since data of this type for the United States are not available, it is not possible to say whether Appalachia is worse off than the rest of the United States in this respect.

6/ Ford Survey, page 192.

School retardation is substantially higher in the Appalachian States than in the balance of the United States. (See Figure 12.) However, these high retardation rates may be due largely to the heavy Negro population in the non-Appalachian portions of the Appalachian States.

Educational program

The available data suggest that the programs of most high schools in the SAR offer little for the pupil who does not go to college. Table 15 bears out Orin Graff's statement in the Ford Survey that "the school programs [in the SAR] will need to be made sufficiently comprehensive to hold the non-college bound pupils and to equip youth and adults for an industrialized society."

On the basis of a study of changes in high school curricula in 20 SAR counties between 1945 and 1948 (see Table 16), Graff concludes that the high school curricula has shown "a minimal responsiveness to a changing society. No single change was made by more than 30 percent of the sample systems since 1945, and 15 percent had made no changes."

III. PROBLEMS AND STRENGTHS

Appalachia lags substantially behind the balance of the United States both in the amount and quality of education its residents have and are getting. The need for more education for more people, and for higher quality education, is obvious. As an aid to determining specific educational program needs of the region, it would be well to look at some of the problems which must be dealt with if the educational needs of Appalachia's residents are to be met more adequately. In looking at these problems, we will, of course, not overlook some of the assets on which a program for improvement can be built.

The economic potentials for school support

Appalachia's lag behind the balance of the United States in spending on education was noted above. In 1957, education expenditures per capita were 77 percent of those in the balance of the United States. (See Table 2.) This reflects Appalachia's income lag behind the balance of the United States. In 1959, per capita income in Appalachia was 74 percent of the per capita income in the balance of the United States.

Taking the ratio of educational expenditures per capita to income per capita as a measure of educational effort, Appalachia made a slightly greater educational effort than the balance of the United States in 1957 (3.83 to 3.67 percent). To equal educational expenditures per capita in the balance of the United States ($69.68 per capita), it would have been necessary for Appalachia to increase its educational expenditure from 3.83 percent to 4.96 percent of its income. This is more than a third greater than the effort in the balance of the United States.

Before concluding that low income is the major obstacle to raising educational spending in Appalachia, it would be well to look at the economic ability of the States in which Appalachia is located, and the contributions made by these States to educational spending in Appalachia. All except the 3 northern Appalachian States were substantially below the United States figure for personal income per capita ($1,901) in 1960. Income per capita in the 3 northern States ranged from $2,003 to $2,047; in the 7 southern States, from $1,231 to $1,698. (See Table 17.)

While economic ability is low in these southern Appalachian States, educational effort also lags. In 1962-63, revenue receipts were 4.24 percent of personal income for the United States. 7/ In the 10 Appalachian States, the effort was 4.11 percent; in the 3 northern Appalachian States, 4.15 percent; in 7 southern Appalachian States, 4.06 percent. (See Table 19.) Only 3 States--Georgia, North Carolina, and Ohio--exceeded the national norm.

The educational gap is in the southern Appalachian States. All 3 northern States exceed the national norm in educational revenue receipts per pupil; all 7 southern States are far below the national norm. Revenue receipts per pupil for the 7 southern Appalachian States were 63 percent of the United States figures. (See Table 20.) How much would the gap in the southern Appalachian States be reduced if an "adequate" educational

7/ Revenue receipts are used in this measure of educational effort because it closely approximates current expenditures plus debt service, for which data are not available.

effort were made? This depends on what kind of effort is deemed adequate. As Table 21 shows, if the 5 southern States in which effort fell below the national norm had made an effort equal to the national norm (4.24 percent), receipts per pupil in the 7 southern Appalachian States would have been $356 instead of $337, that is, 66 percent of the national norm instead of 63 percent. If all 7 southern States had made as great an effort as Ohio, receipts per pupil would have been $381 instead of $337, that is, 71 percent of the national norm instead of 63 percent.

Thus, about 10 to 25 percent of the educational lag in the southern Appalachian States might be attributed to inadequate effort; between 75 and 90 percent, to low income. A 60 percent larger effort would have been required in 1962-63 to bring revenue receipts per pupil up to the national average. (See Table 22.) It seems fair to conclude that while lack of effort is a problem in improving education in the southern Appalachian States, lack of income is a far more serious problem.

The available data suggest another conclusion: that the bulk of Appalachia's educational spending lag is due to the lag of the Appalachian States. Using index numbers, expenditures per capita in 1957 for local schools in the United States, the 10 Appalachian States, and 10-State Appalachia were 100, 85, and 78, respectively. (See Table 23.) Thus, two-thirds of Appalachia's lag was due to the lag of the Appalachian States behind the balance of the United States; one-third was due to the lag of the Appalachian portions behind the non-Appalachian portions of these 10 States.

Part of the educational spending lag of the Appalachian portions of the 10 Appalachian States behind the non-Appalachian portions can be attributed to the income lag. (See Table 17.) State aid programs apparently have not offset these income differences. In 1957-58, 55 percent of public school revenue in the SAR came from State sources. (See Table 24.) While the percent of public school revenues coming from State sources was far higher in the SAR than in the United States (40 percent of public school revenue in the United States came from State sources in 1957-58), it was not high compared to the States in which the SAR is located. In 1957-58, 60 percent of public school revenues in the 7 southern Appalachian States came from State sources. (See Table 25.)

Variations within the SAR in the percent of public school revenue coming from State sources were very large. For example, the State share of school revenue in metropolitan counties was about 50 percent; in rural counties with a static population, it was 85 percent. (See Table 26.)

Changes in population and enrollments

Population in Appalachia remained virtually constant during the fifties, growing by only one percent during the decade. It increased 9 percent in urban areas, and declined 5 percent in rural areas. Most of the declines took place in the rural farm areas, which suffered a 56 percent decline. (The rural nonfarm areas increased by 29 percent.) The largest percentage declines in rural areas were in Appalachian Alabama, Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia. (See Table 27.)

County data give a better picture of the kinds of population changes taking place. They show a line of counties with 1950-60 population increases following the Great Valley in the SAR. "The Great Valley is where industrialization is taking place and cities are developing, and it contains an increasing percentage of the [SAR's] inhabitants." (See Figure 4.) 8/

Population under 18 years increased by only 6 percent during the decade. (The increase in the balance of the United States in this age group during the fifties was 41 percent.) This part of the population (which approximates the school-age population) declined in the nonmetropolitan Appalachian portion of 6 of the 7 southern Appalachian States. (See Table 28.)

Enrollment changes reflect population changes. Figure 6 shows that rural elementary enrollments in the SAR declined steadily during the decade 1950-60. This decline is expected to continue during the sixties. Rural secondary enrollments rose during 1950-60, but are expected to decline sharply during 1960-70. Metropolitan elementary and secondary enrollments increased during the fifties and are expected to continue rising during the sixties.

8/See also Ford Survey, Figure 12, page 40, and Figure 42, page 127. See also 1960 Census, PC(1) 1A United States, Figure 24.

Declining enrollments in the rural schools present serious problems. There is a natural reluctance to replace, modernize, equip, or maintain inadequate school plant, or to build new consolidated schools, in areas where enrollments are declining. Unfortunately these are the areas where school facilities are the least adequate, where the education lag is the greatest, where personal income is the lowest, and where the need for school consolidation is greatest (because of the high percentage of small schools.) How should this problem be handled? Can we do any better than patch up the one-room schools, or perhaps replace them with mobile units? Is it wise to do more than this?

One of the bright spots is the relatively slow growth of population in the metropolitan areas of Appalachia. These areas are not plagued with the enrollment explosions taking place in metropolitan areas elsewhere in the United States, and the massive increase in school plants needed to accommodate these enrollments.

Migration

The only migration data on 10-State Appalachia available at this time are those showing total net migration from the Appalachian portion of each State. (See Table 3.) Data on the characteristics of migrants are available for the SAR, but only for 1949-50. These data show that "the migrant population is made up primarily of young adults. The age group 18-34 years, alone, comprised almost half (49.8 percent) of the in-migrants

and more than half (51.7 percent) of the out-migrants. On the other hand, this group formed only a third (33.7 percent) of the total population." The data also showed that migrants from the SAR were more narrowly concentrated in the teenage and young adult years than were migrants into the region. 9/

Migrants were better educated than the SAR population as a whole. (See Table 29.) The effect has been to retard the rise in the educational level of the SAR's population. In fact, SAR out-migration tends to lower the level of education both in and out of the region. 10/

Large proportions of migrants are obliged to enter the occupational structure at its lowest level. [See Table 30.] This is due to the relatively low level of education received by Appalachian people (migrants included) and the lack of vocational training (other than agricultural). These low level occupations are the most vulnerable to economic fluctuations. "Even those migrants who have been absorbed into the industrial structure as operatives face the imminent prospect of being displaced as technological change occurs. In the future, untrained migrants will be less likely than in the past to be absorbed into the manufacturing system as operatives. 11/

9/Ford Survey, page 67.
10/Ford Survey, pages 68-69.
11/Ford Survey, page 69.

The rate of net migration from nonmetropolitan SAR during the decade 1950-60 was generally greatest where mining was important, and lowest where there was a significant amount of manufacturing. Agricultural areas also lost heavily. (See Table 31.) "Looking at migration over time, one can see that an increasing proportion of migrants are moving from mining and subsistence agricultural areas where the old social and cultural patterns have been especially persistent." 12/ (See Table 32.)

Will this out-migration continue in the future? Much depends on the success of recent efforts to develop the region economically, particularly the PARC effort. Under the most optimistic assumptions, however, it seems unlikely that an equilibrium between population and the economic resources of the region will be reached before 1985. It seems safe to assume that the net migration from the area will go on for at least the next two decades, particularly from the farm and mining areas.

It seems equally safe to conclude that the out-migration should continue. It should be encouraged, since it is a major means of achieving the equilibrium between population and economic resources of the region. This will accrue to the benefit both of those who leave and those who stay.

There are many who do not see migration as a boon to Appalachia's people. There is strong resistance to the idea by leaders both in and outside the Region, who see job-making as the remedy for Appalachia's ills. The PARC Report seems to reflect this point of view.

12/Ford Survey, page 76.

Actually encouragement of economic growth and of out-migration are not inconsistent with each other, if the aim of economic growth in Appalachia is higher income per capita. Further out-migration is essential to the achievement of this kind of economic growth.

If migration is to be encouraged, if Appalachia's rural residents are to successfully migrate to jobs in the cities--both within and outside of Appalachia--and compete on fairly equal terms with urbanites, there are a host of education and training problems which need attention. Appalachia's isolated rural residents have to learn the ways of urban life. At home and/or at their destination, they need help in adjusting to a culture different from their own. This process has to start early.

They will have to get the kinds of education and training needed for productive and stable employment in urban occupations, rather than that sufficient for life as a miner, farmer, or forester. This will require a vastly better basic education than most of them are now getting, and a much wider variety of occupational training opportunities at home and/or elsewhere. They have some special problems with regard to occupational training. For example, acquisition of skills needed for some jobs requires some on-the-job experience; and it is difficult to obtain this experience in rural Appalachia, because of the scarcity of industry and commerce.

Educational and vocational counselors in Appalachia will be faced with special challenges: they will need to learn more about job possibilities hundreds of miles away, and they will have to help their clients prepare for a kind of living and employment which for many of these clients (and perhaps the counselors as well) exist only in the imagination.

Compounding these difficulties are two facts. First, the Appalachian areas with the heaviest migration (and where migration should most be encouraged) are those where educational attainment is the lowest and education and training opportunities are least adequate. These are also the areas where people can least afford to bear the expense of relocation, and the expense of obtaining education--either at home or elsewhere--after they have left school.

The second fact is the advanced age of some of the unemployed who have little in the way of education or saleable skills, and who have never been out of the rural areas of Appalachia. How much should be invested in these people in the way of education and training for life and work in urban areas?

Regarding school consolidation--a pet answer for many who have seen Appalachia's one-room schools--it should be noted that it will help only if some of the problems attendant on consolidation itself are dealt with constructively. It is particularly important that special attention be given to the adjustment problems of economically disadvantaged rural youth in attending classes with their more fortunate urban cousins. Preschool readiness programs are essential in this connection, as well as improved communication between urban school systems and the rural public. 13/

13/See Charleston Youth Community, Inc., pages II-A, 8-9, and V-A, 18.

Roads

There was little growth in primary road mileage in the SAR between 1939 and 1955. 14/ The main improvement in the road net was with respect to surfacing.

Interstate Highway System construction has improved the road system in Appalachia since 1955. However, much of the Appalachian region will not be directly served by it. 15/

A major highway program and a local network contribute to an educational program, not only by facilitating school consolidations, but also by extending people's perception of the outer world. The relation of de-isolation to education can be seen in the following comment from the Bowman Study:

> "Although there is good reason for believing that improvement of the regular school system and of levels of schooling attained may be the single most important policy goal for the future of East Kentucky, the push to raise the quality and holding power of the schools has found little active mountain support. People lacking education and a knowledge of its importance in the job markets outside the mountains do not spontaneously attribute their ills to deficiencies in themselves. Only as the process of de-isolation moves ahead does education of local youth begin to be something on which a local politician can safely place major emphasis."

Attitudes

Stereotypes of Appalachia's people, and particularly of its rural residents, abound. This is the land which, because of the mountainous terrain, America has passed by. This is the land of people who have clung to their frontier-agrarian traditions, stubbornly resisting change, or any

14/See Ford Survey, page 134.
15/See PARC Report, page 32.

movement toward the philosophical premises of Twentieth Century American Industrial Society. This is the land of lawlessness, of corrupt politicians, of unprogressive leaders. This is the land of people who are fiercely independent and self-reliant, too proud and suspicious to accept outside help, and too individualistic and familistic to engage in organized community action. This is the land of people who are fatalistic and resigned, who see little value in education either as a way out or as a good in itself.

If the stereotype is the reality, then we have here a serious stumbling block to the achievement of improved education as an exit from poverty. It is essential to separate out fact from fiction in this regard, so we can get a clearer notion of those attitudes which represent problems which must be dealt with, and those which are strengths on which efforts to improve education can build.

While much of the stereotype may once have been true, a number of forces have combined in recent years to break down Appalachia's isolation and provincialism, and to widen the gap between the stereotype and the reality. Paved roads, World War II, radio and TV, improved education, and migration, are examples.

One of the most comprehensive recent studies of Appalachia's people is a survey of attitudes of people in the SAR, conducted by Thomas R. Ford in 1958, and reported in the Ford Survey. Some of the findings of this survey follow:

1. Despite the reputation of the SAR people for fierce independence, individualism, and proud self-reliance, 86 percent of the rural respondents giving an opinion were in favor of a program of Federal aid to education--even though 4 out of 7 rural respondents with an opinion felt Federal aid to local areas makes the people less self-reliant. Over 90 percent felt the present relief and welfare program was a good thing. About two-thirds did not think it reflected badly on a family if they received relief.

Responses to various survey questions appeared to substantiate a growing recongition of the advantages of organized group action. For example, more than 90 percent of the respondents in all areas endorsed the idea that "people should get together and try to bring industry to the community or county" in which they lived.

2. The large number of migrants leaving Appalachia indicate that attitudes of fatalism, resignation, and resistance to change, do not, at least for them, prevail. The survey data indicate that these are also not prevailing traits of those that remain. For example, 80 percent of the respondents said they would like to see their son go into white collar, rather than blue collar, work. Two-thirds of the rural respondents said they would like for a son to complete college. More than 90 percent of all respondents said they would want a son or daughter to take advantage of an opportunity to go to college in preference to remaining at home to help the family, and almost all of those said they would be willing to borrow money to help pay part of the college expenses.

When asked, "If a child of yours was considering where to live, would you want him to stay here or go elsewhere," more than half the respondents in rural and nonmetropolitan urban areas said they would want their children to leave.

When asked which of six factors was the most important factor in a man's being successful in his work, one-third of the rural respondents named "good education or training." Another third mentioned "liking his work," a factor often associated with education. (The remaining third mentioned hard work, natural ability, good luck, and knowing the right people.)

Fatalism still persists with many, of course. Half of the rural respondents agreed with the statement, "Nowadays, a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself." This does not necessarily reflect a desparate and despondent outlook, however. Three out of four of these rural respondents cheerfully agreed that children today have a wonderful future to look forward to.

Summing up, Ford says "it may be concluded that however traditionalistic they may be in other respects, the impoverished folk of the mountains are not so enamored of their way of life that they wish their children to follow in it. They wish them to acquire more education and to get better jobs, even if it means leaving the mountains, which in most cases it will."

3. The attitude survey revealed that the people of the SAR were confused about the purposes of education and the educational needs of their own communities. A large majority of them were satisfied with their educational program: they thought it was a good one. Ford comments that "this satisfaction with an obviously inferior educational program is, in large part, reflective of an educational level lower than the national average."

4. Summarizing the results of the survey of Appalachian "leaders," 16/ Ford says, "Southern Appalachian leaders as represented by the survey are neither fatalists nor reactionaries. Rather, they are 'activists' and 'progressives' for the most part, committed to a philosophy of individual achievement and social development ... [and] if their beliefs and behavior are in any way indicative of the direction in which regional values are changing, which seems surely to be the case, they portend an increasing acceptance of national culture traits."

5. "Most of the people of the region, according to the evidence of the survey data, have adopted the major goals and standards typical of American society." Ford says, "It hardly seems reasonable to ascribe all the backwardness [of the SAR] or even most of it to inadequate motivation. While this is not to suggest that motivation efforts are no longer necessary, which is obviously not the case, it is to suggest that the same energies might be applied more efficiently to other tasks." He mentions three other tasks: (a) the lack of a strong sense of social responsibility ("The bonds of loyalty to a group or community are often so tenuous as to appear lacking altogether."); (b) the teaching of techniques of group organization and action ("The diffidence that underlies much, although by no means all, of the reluctance to engage in cooperative activities can probably be overcome to some degree through small-scale programs, involving limited numbers of people, that are designed to provide training in the skills and conventions of group action."); (c) reducing the social conflict and personal confusion arising from the confrontation of different value systems. ("The most promising solution to this problem [of adjustment to life in cities outside

16/These were not necessarily those in political offices, but those people whom respondents considered leaders.

Appalachia by migrants] would seem to be one of education. Certainly there is a need to familiarize the mountain migrants, preferably before they migrate, with the requirements and expectations of urban life and the conditions they are likely to face.")

Ford sums up as follows:

> "But of all the implcations that may be drawn from the survey of attitudes, values, and beliefs of the Southern Appalachian people, the most important is this: that the old stereotypes that have so long guided social action in the Region no longer apply to the great majority of the residents. The Southern Appalachian people, although they may lag in their social and economic development, are living in the Twentieth Century. To be sure, they retain the impress of their rural cultural heritage, but for the most part their way of life, their beliefs, their fears, and their aspirations are not radically different from those of most other Americans. If they do not share fully in the larger culture of the nation, which in truth they do not as yet (and, indeed, some of their champions hope they will not), it can hardly be attributed to their lack of willingness to do so. To an appreciable measure their distinctiveness as a people is vested in characteristics that have persisted only because of restricted social and economic opportunities. The economic development of the Region is not so much dependent upon their cultural integration as their cultural integration is dependent upon economic development. Whether or not it is considered desirable, it seems almost certain that as the economic problems are solved, the provincialism of the Region itself will fade."

Planning resources 17/

Resources for development of improved educational programs as part of overall plans for community development are deficient in Appalachia, at least in the SAR. "In the SAR there are many small, weak counties that were

17/Material in this section was taken for the most part from the Ford Survey, chapters 10 and 11.

established to meet conditions that no longer prevail." Further, county government in the SAR "on which both rural and urban residents depend, has not manifested a disposition to be provident, energetic, and foresighted. Instead in many cases, it continues to be wasteful and unimaginative, exercising ingenuity only in dodging its own responsibilities in order to ride on the shoulders of others."

It is difficult for local boards of education to make up these lacks, since local boards in the SAR generally lack a share in deciding local fiscal matters affecting the educational program. School boards in the region "generally have no power to set a tax levy within prescribed legal limits, to force a tax levy in support of an approved budget, or to call for a referendum on a budget proposal slashed by a county court or city council."

In 1958 there were 132 local Government units in the SAR with official planning agencies. Most of these planning agencies were in the cities, however. (All cities in the SAR with over 10,000 population have official planning agencies.) Only 18 of the 190 counties in the SAR had planning agencies in 1958, and 15 of these counties with planning agencies were located in the Great Valley.

It should be noted that changes have taken place since 1958, the date of the survey of planning agencies in the SAR. For example, the three years between 1958 and 1961 "spawned numerous planning and development councils among the counties of East Kentucky... ." 18/

18/Bowman Study, p. 269.

All of the local planning agencies in the SAR are organized as commissions, varying in size from 5 to 15 members. Nearly all have representatives from retail business and from Government. Education, trades, and labor are rarely represented. Up to 1958, the city planning commissions had been concerned primarily with zoning, subdivision standards, and streets. Only 15 percent in 1958 had been concerned with schools, utilities, budgets, or finance. This was generally true of the county planning agencies also.

The situation is not without hope. The Ford Survey points out that "there appears to be a direct relationship between the amount of technical assistance available to the commissions and the nature and extent of their programs. This points to the important role of the State in encouraging sound planning and development of urban areas." Also, "the evidence gained by the survey suggests that in general those communities with planning agencies are doing a better job of adjusting to problems of urban growth than are the other communities."

A relatively recent development within the SAR is the organization of regional planning commissions. (See Figure 13.) These are relatively weak agencies, however, being described as "citizen groups with only loose ties to city and county government." As the Ford Survey notes, "there can be no official planning independent of the Government units which have the power to act on recommendations."

The Ford Survey concludes that "what has been lacking is overall State planning which can help establish development goals and coordinate the activities of individual State agencies in their application within a particular region." "Effective State planning which concerns itself with overall State development goals to which individual programs are related may well be the key to successful regional planning and development programs."

IV. EFFORTS TO MEET EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

Material abounds on the efforts that should be made to improve education in Appalachia. Most of these proposals involve additional Federal aid, either through existing Federal programs or through new legislation.

Material on special efforts that have been, or are being, made to close Appalachia's educational gap is scarce. The material in this section relates to efforts being made in the region as a whole, in two of the Appalachian States (Kentucky and West Virginia), and by the Federal Government.

The region as a whole

Some efforts are obviously being made to improve education in Appalachia. For example, the PARC Report states that "in 1950, only 107 counties, accounting for 60 percent of the region's population, had better than 80 percent of their high school age population in school; by 1960, 227 counties, accounting for 85 percent of the region's population, had reached this level. In 1950, the median school years completed was 9 years or better in 31 counties having a total of 4.1 million residents; in 1960, there were 90 counties, with 8.9 million residents, at this level."

The Ford Survey notes that average per pupil expenditure for current expenses in the SAR quadrupled between 1939-40 and 1958-59, rising from $48.99 to $203.12. During this period, they rose from 50 percent to 60 percent of the national figure.

The 7 southern Appalachian States made the greatest progress in narrowing the educational gap between them and the balance of the United States between 1930 and 1950. (See Tables 33 A-C.) Between 1950 and 1964, progress in narrowing the gap has been more modest, with only Alabama, Georgia, and Kentucky making significant gains. During the period 1960-64, only Kentucky and North Carolina made significant gains. The special case of West Virginia should be noted. There was a marked deterioration of its position relative to the United States between 1930 and 1964, especially during the periods 1930-50 and 1960-64.

The President's Appalachian Regional Commission (PARC) was formed by the late President Kennedy in April 1963. This group, which consisted of a representative designated by each of the Governors of the 10 Appalachian States and a representative of the heads of major Federal departments and agencies, prepared recommendations (contained in the 1964 PARC Report) for a comprehensive action program for the economic development of the Appalachian region.

Although action has not yet been taken on the recommendations of this report (legislation is now being considered by Congress), it should be registered as a major effort to improve education in Appalachia by calling the attention of the nation and Congress to the educational gap in the region. The limited nature of the PARC proposals for improving education should be noted, however. They are geared for the most part to supporting efforts to promote economic growth in the region, rather than upgrading educational achievement both of those who might leave the region and those who will remain. In short, they seem more concerned with economic growth

than with the people. Appalachia's people are seen as "this region's most valuable resource," rather than an end in themselves. Despite the high billing the PARC Report gives to the educational gap, it gives little attontion to education in its program proposals. 19/

Kentucky

Eastern Kentucky Regional Planning Commission

This Commission was created in 1958 with State support following the recommendations of reports brought in for the Flood Rehabilitation Study of 1957. It has helped publicize Eastern Kentucky's problems, and has participated in later groups concerned with area redevelopment and Appalachia. Its functions are to provide leadership, publicity, and an overall perspective on programs and progress in the region; it is up to other agencies to carry out the details.

Eastern Kentucky Emergency Program

In November 1963, the late President Kennedy announced a "crash program" designed to bring immediate assistance to the hardest hit counties of Eastern Kentucky. Under this program, the following actions related to education were undertaken:

19/The Report of the Conference on Appalachian Development, Princeton, 1964, states, "We are firmly convinced that the very heart of any Appalachian Regional development program must be a substantial investment in human resources. We urge that any development agency be charged with broad responsibility for support of basic and vocational education programs in Appalachia. We find the PARC report seriously deficient in this respect."

(1) In January 1964 a $9 million Manpower Development and Training Act program covering 44 counties was initiated. The program was designed to provide training for over 3,000 persons in 50 occupations. Most of the trainees are on some form of relief.

(2) Large amounts (original cost: $1.0 million) of Federal surplus property were supplied to State vocational schools in Eastern Kentucky.

(3) School lunch programs were extended, with 11,000 additional children receiving hot school lunches.

(4) A community work and training program was started as part of a demonstration program for unemployed parents of dependent children. (Cost: $1 million for 9 counties.)

(5) "Appalachian Volunteers" was organized.

Appalachian Volunteers

The Appalachian Volunteers program is an outgrowth of the Eastern Kentucky Emergency Program. During early 1964, college and university students from several campuses in Eastern Kentucky volunteered their services, and several corporations donated money, service, and materials, in renovating 1- and 2-room schoolhouses in Eastern Kentucky. ARA has provided a technical assistance grant of $50,000 to staff the regional

organization. Plans are to broaden the program to include many kinds of health, recreational, and educational programs--all in a school-based framework. Since a primary goal will be to encourage children to remain in school by making it a community institution in which the parents take pride, all programs will revolve around the school.

It is hoped that formal internships will be established during summers, bringing students to Frankfort and Washington to gain first-hand knowledge of State and Federal programs relating to the problems of Eastern Kentucky. Since a primary goal of the Appalachian Volunteers is active involvement of the citizens of each community, this would create a much-needed link between Washington and the people in these Eastern Kentucky communities.

Adult Education

Eighty percent of Kentucky's 204 school districts are now actively participating in a "High School Equivalency Program."

In February 1961, Kentucky initiated a new program for pilot adult education centers. This program continued until June 1962, when funds were no longer available. During this period, a total of 5,051 adults attended classes in 23 school districts, two thirds of which were in Appalachia. Efforts were concentrated on enabling adults who already had some high school training to complete high school, and on providing special vocational courses (primarily typing, shorthand, and bookkeeping).

The potentials of this program can be seen in the following comment taken from the Kentucky Educational Bulletin for the biennium ending June 30, 1963:

"The success of the program demonstrated that adults given the opportunity, will further their education and that school districts, given financial assistance will offer these opportunities. As a result of these programs, many adults found immediate employment, some entered vocational schools and others went on to institutions of higher education. The value of such programs both to the community and the schools is unmistakable. For example, districts reported that the average daily attendance in their regular day programs went up after adult classes were begun. It would seem that the parent back in school at night sees to it that his child attends school regularly. It is regrettable that funds were not available to continue the program in 1962-63. Only nine districts were able to offer pay-as-you-go programs. Although many districts are willing to organize programs, they are unable to do so without some financial assistance." 20/

West Virginia

West Virginia has made a number of significant moves in recent years to provide better education and training opportunities for the disadvantaged. In 1958, the State began its own manpower retraining program for the unemployed.

In 1962, a one-year pilot program of three months of compulsory occupational training for school dropouts was conducted in Mercer County. The dropout youth were visited in their homes, and most of them enrolled in training voluntarily. Since 1962, classes have been set up in Raleigh and Summers counties.

In 1962, the State Department of Education developed a program of comprehensive education for all schools in the State, grades 1-12, designed to meet the needs of all kinds of children. Implementing legislation will be considered in the 1965 session of the State Legislature.

In 1962, Charleston Youth Community, Inc. (CYC) was also established. Also called Action for Appalachian Youth (AAY), this representative group has completed the research and planning phase of a juvenile delinquency program in Kanawha County, to be financed by the Federal Government. A great deal of attention has been given by this group to providing improved education for culturally different rural youth.

Established in 1963 was the Center for Appalachian Studies and Development at West Virginia University. The effect of this on education in the State is yet to be seen, however.

20/Page 37. See also Bowman Study, page 283.

Federal Education Programs

The 1963 report of PARC's Subcommittee on Education and Development of Human Resources in the Appalachian area contains data on funds allocated to 8 of the 10 Appalachian States (Ohio and Georgia were not included) under several Federal education programs. Unfortunately, only in the case of funds allocated under the Cooperative Research Act and Titles IV and VII of NDEA were data presented for Appalachian counties as well as the Appalachian States. For this reason, it is not possible in most cases to determine if Appalachia got a smaller or greater share of funds relative to its population.

1. OE Cooperative Research Funds

In fiscal year 1963, over half of the $805,00 in Cooperative Research funds allocated to 8 Appalachian States went to Appalachian counties. None went to southern Appalachian counties.

2. Graduate Fellowships (Title IV, NDEA)

Graduate fellowship funds obligated to higher education institutions in the Appalachian portions of 8 Appalachian States totaled $1.3 million in fiscal year 1963. Half of this amount went to southern Appalachian institutions in Tennessee, Alabama, and West Virginia.

3. New Educational Media Research and Dissemination (Title VII, NDEA)

In fiscal year 1963, $833 million was obligated to 8 Appalachian States, virtually all of it to Appalachian counties. All of the latter, however, went to Pennsylvania. None of these projects were designed to deal specifically with Appalachian problems. (The same was true for

4. Library Services

During fiscal year 1963, $1.8 million was allocated to 8 Appalachian States under the Library Services Act of 1956. Data on the proportion of this total going to Appalachian counties are not available.

5. College Student Loans (Title II, NDEA)

In fiscal year 1963, $16.5 million was allocated to 8 Appalachian States. Data on the portion going to Appalachian counties are not available.

6. Titles III, V-A, and V-B of NDEA

Allocations to 8 Appalachian States of Title III funds were $11.6 million (FY 1962); Title V-A funds, $3.0 million (FY 1962); Title V-B funds, $0.4 million (FY 1963). Data on the portions going to Appalachian counties are not available.

7. Vocational and Technical Education

Federal funds obligated for vocational and technical education under the Smith-Hughes, George Barden, and related Acts amounted to $11.2 million for 8 Appalachian States in fiscal year 1962. Estimated enrollments were 691,000. Data on the portion going to Appalachian counties are not available.

8. Manpower, Development and Training Act (MDTA)

Between July 1, 1962 and March 31, 1964, $27.8 million was approved for institutional training projects in Appalachia under the MDTA. This was 12 percent of all such projects approved in the United States during the same period. (Appalachia's population is 8.5 percent of the United States total.)

The most conspicuous of these projects was a $9 million dollar project covering 44 counties in Eastern Kentucky which was begun in early 1964.

In addition to the above, four manpower experimental and demonstration projects have been set up in Appalachia--in North Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia. 20/

9. Area Redevelopment Act (ARA)

Between November 1, 1961 and March 31, 1964, $4.5 million was approved for institutional training projects in Appalachia under the ARA. This was 27 percent of all such projects approved in the United States during the same period. Nearly half of the $4.5 million went to Pennsylvania and West Virginia. 21/

Summary

Some significant efforts have been made in recent years to narrow the education and training gap between Appalachia and the balance of the United States. There was a marked growth of interest in doing something about the problem, and some development of the organization and know-how needed to develop and implement special education and training programs.

20/See Appendix F for further detail on MDTA projects in Appalachia.
21/See Appendix F for further detail on ARA projects in Appalachia.

The PARC Report, while disappointing in its education recommendations, will probably have a substantial impact, by calling attention to the educational lag in the region. Generally, there seems to be a far better base on which to build an educational program to meet the needs of the Appalachian people today than existed 10 years ago.

Good points
- educational lag
- there should be anti-migration
- questioning the assessment of mental ability
- showing the sense of isolation first
- community development - f (cultural integration)
- cultural integration - f (economic)

p. 24 - Does all planning include the level of aspiration of women
- should be showing to what we want and compare with current educational opp.

General observations
Perhaps the educational requirement is such a thing as to depend to whom he talks
- you have to have an objective